

XXI.

Bulgarian Laborer's Socialdemocrat Party.

1907—1910.

1. Politic Movement.

The development and success of the socialistic movement in our countries is, and cannot be by any other way, in dependency on the development and progress of capitalisation. During the last ten years, the capitalisation, against the many internal and external obstacles, with which has fought, has made in our country considerable conquests, more in the lines of industry, enterprise, construction and in credit.

In the number of modern, industrial enterprises, — of construction, in particularity, as well as in creditable institutions, it has almost doubled itself and does not cease to augment. The other part, the politics dreamed more and more of one clear, capittaly character. Its organs perfected and adapted themselves to the new needs of the capitalization and to the interests of the new, possessed class, which lades the ruins of the little propriety. Because of shortness, the capitalisation rapidly gained the supremacy in the economic-sociale life in our country and its extension entrains the ruin and the misery of the little proprietors, which deprives theirs of the production and becomes bigger the ranges of the engaged laborers in te capital production.

Because of attarctability, under the socialistic drapery, those proletarian novelties, it nobilitate them to the point, that they may leave the comprehension of their interest, of the class, and of their's commun ideal, is dirigented their's efforts against one methodical action and overlooks well, also the amelioration of their sort, thus, that this can do itself a plan of the society, of the that the conquest may have and may de political in an opinion of definitive abolition, that is in several words, what was the work of the „Social-democrat“ Party in Bulgaria.

During the last four years, which come after the congress in Stuttgart, our country, against the many obstacles, it has made one considerable progress in the conception of its role as a party of the war, of the proletarian class which in the practical accomplishment of this role in the measure, which the effective money of the party and the objective conditions permits it. That progress finds its concrete expression, in a numeric accumulation of the members of the party, in the augmentation of its combinable force in the development of its press and, after all, in the accumulation of its opposite money and war.

The other part, its success are put more in relief through the numeric accumulation of the organisation of the syndicate. That institution gains yet, day by day, more stability and influence, among the laborers, on the quality of organ's direction, the professional wars looking immediate ameliorations to receive it in the work's coalitions. The same organisation constitutes also one maguilla school for composition of equal intellect, of laborers for their education in the class solidarity

Composition of the Party.

Years:	Local Sections:	Total number of members:	Laborers:	Employers of Communes:	Laborers with professions:	Laborers with liberty:	Men:	Women:
1907	38	1595	1079	250	40	226	1583	12
1908	40	1665	1134	248	48	235	1648	17
1909	45	1870	1306	260	64	240	1846	24
1910*)	56	2286	1680	280	69	257	2260	26

The table here written, gives one idea for the composition of the Party, during the last four years. The relative, given numbers shortly reply only for the first three

*) The indic numbers for the year 1910, are only for the first three months

months, for, perhaps the members will augment, at the end of the year.

The same table shows, that, the number of laborers, in particularity those of the industry — is in constant progress. In general, the laborer's element is predominant in our country.

In the party are: 17 laborer's associations of gymnastics with 420 adherers, and 16 associations of the socialist education with, about 450 adherers, so that the organisation of the primal, socialdemocrats institutors with 66 local groups and 800 adherers. Its organ „Utchitelska Iskra“, („Institutor's Spark“) appears one time, for a week and counts 1900 regulier abonats. After all, the organisation of the Employee of the Commun and the communals with 25 local groups and 350 members. Its organ „Slougeashte“ („The Employee“) appears two times for a month and counts regulier, 800 abonats.

Financial Position.

Years	The Party in its ens:				The central caisson:				Receptions from:			
	Receptions		Deperdition		Receptions		Deperdition		Resections from members		Receptions from the carts of members	
1907	22,252	50	21,881	50	4,135	55	4,120	45	1,596	85	290	—
1908	26,318	50	26,251	50	4,315	50	4,292	14	2,078	45	300	—
1909	28,881	12	28,340	85	4,663	80	4,247	47	2,347	05	462	—
1910*	56,540	24	46,780	70	4,973	44	4,639	57	2,400	—	560	—

The table, here written, shows for the financial situation of our country of the same period. The operations of the librairy of the party, which are more, than 300,000 frcs. in sum, do not enter here. The situation of the party is also very good for the three last months.

*) The indic numbers for the year 1910 are only for the first three months.

General activity of the Party.

Years:	Meetings with conference:	Number of assistants:	Public meetings:	Number of assistants:	Divertissement:	Number of assistants:	Hying Leavs:	Books:	Acquired voices of the legislative electors:
1907	218	4,293	486	27,250	417	21,505	12,816	8,145	—
1908	281	4,460	521	32,800	483	26,850	34,890	9,300	4,360
1909	302	9,960	543	30,450	560	28,370	14,800	7,350	—
1910*	695	18,060	623	117,425	496	90,400	117,920	15,005	—

The table here written shows the general activity, of the party, during the same period as they will remark, our party is given for regle to give one very big attention to the work of education and to develop in the laborers. The party joints one great importance also to the divertissements, which constitute, at the same time from one excellent money to honor the equal of culture, laborers, one very good stream of receptions, because the party has so need of the work of propagande and of recruiting.

Presse of the Party.

Years:	The organ of the Party „Rabotnichesky Vestnik“:	The review of the Party „Novo Vreme“:	„The red Candler“:	„The leave of the First May“:
1907	2,000	960	13,756	—
1908	2,350	1,000	14,680	7,500
1909	2,400	1,150	15,300	10,000
1910	3,500	1,426	18,000	15,000

The table here written gives one idea for the development of the periodic press of Party for the four last years.

*) These indic numbers for the year 1910, are only for the first three months.

In particularity the relative numbers of the party's organ — are appearing after the commencement of the year, three times for a week merit to be noticeable. Its members have to augment till 1000. We hope to have in two or three years latter, to make it appearing every day. Without that the appearing will be second in that work, for its clear typography, which comes to install, there are several months, for giveness to the efforts of the organ's laborers and of the maternal help of the brotherly party in Germany. The prise of the typography is made on the modern bases and is, — 35,000 frcs. and can make a face to all the actual needs of the Party.

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During the period of the last four years we have to delay, after the wars against the atentats of government, of constitution to the liberties and, in particularity, to the right of the coalition, so indispensable to the laborer's class. That war continues actually yet. Two years ago, on the place of nationals-liberals — party the most consequent of the burgess-ship — the party, with the name „democrats“, was called to govern the country. The democrats, to have administrative and grace of one demagogy, without scruples and, with moral help of radical elements, at first place the namers „Large Socialists“ have charmed the mass of population and made one absolute, parliamentary majority.

Always, from the same beginning, they were feeling, that they do not engage in the social and democratic reforms, but they followed the way of their predecessors.

They did not forget too naturally, to acquit their aiders, the „Large Socialist“, by installation many in duties, well prised, with large opening the secret caspets, to the other and, by charging — with their money — to special missions, in other countries.

As that was proffed, the politic commencement of democrats have provoked at the just beginning, the despondency, the indignation and afterwards the inthankfulness from the popular mass, and in particularity, from the laborers. At the end all have known, that they have been victims

by one demagogic agitation and their legitimate unthankfulness returned against their aiders, the „Large Socialists“. At that hour, they have gathered the fruits of their bad actions, because they had lost the whole their credit, among the popular mass.

Most pitiful were the results from that traitorousness, namely, for the „Large Socialists“ — the friends of the „Royal democracy“ in our country. To day that socialist party is dying, because the events come to disfigure, by an easy way, that it is in a full decomposition. Lost the whole prestige and hurt by intestine wars, which paralyse the whole positive initiative to its organisations, it cannot manifest, at all, activity. Abandoned, as it is from several laborers, who were under an influence, for a moment, and follow it, that Socialists party fell under the demoralisation, despondency and desorganisation. It has a very hopeful perspective, to feel itself in a position of „Generals without army“, the chiefs of that party, of the compromises, disguised as an instrument of the royal democracy, which does all, that it can to deliver itself from that debacle. So, they have done the noise, about the „Union to the Socialist forces in Bulgaria“, and in which they want to engage the „Socialist's International Secretariat“. But, the Socialist forces, in Bulgaria, do not divide themselves. The truth is, that there is a full dissolution from a politic group, coming from the ranks of the little burgess-ship, which entered by chance in the International and profited, without scruples authority and prestige to put the burgess-ship, to divide their ranks and to make them slim in the war, about their emancipation. Happily, the events, helped from deployed efforts, from our party, come to put end to that play with the interest of the laborer's class, in our countries; the untruthful, men from the laborer's class must receive their prize. Our party is against all fusions with groups of politicians, in full dissolution, without any importance in our life. Our party does not believe that its role and interests of socialisme dictate to deliver from the rum une group of politicians, devinitive compromises and less yet to put them among the ranks of laborer's movement, from where they have been gone, to put them again on their work of

corruption. All concessions of our party will have for result the unthankfulness and also the revolt in the ranks of our conscientious laborers, which are perfectly lighted about that, how much cost they, in the role of the party of the „Large Socialists“. In reality, that party does not represent this, that they call it the „Reformed Tendency“, in the socialist movement, as they will can to believe — in the other countries, it is only a sort of little burgess — radicalism, a melange of politic merchants and of mental unfeelingness.

Our party alone — faithful to its problems and consequent to its tactics of the independante action of proletariat — did not leave itself quite to be in emotion through the beautiful phrases and promises of democrats and of their instruments.

It conserved strongly its positions of class and gained with that the general sympathies of the laborer's world, sympathies, which are not late to manifest themselves through the big affluence of laborers in our organisations; through the rapid augmentation of members of our professional and politic organs and, in one word, with the good augmentation of socialist movement in all their branches. To day we are happy to gather the fruits of our socialist work: to see the laborers educated about the problems and the tactics of laborer's, liberator's movement. And that appeared more abundant, when they consider, that our party is the alone in Bulgaria, which has one large prestige at the middle of the laborer's population. Having categorical refuse to take part in the enterprise, with the namers „democratic party“ — democrats radicals and large-socialists — make having for ideal to augment among the mass a politic corruption and to put them in permanent service of the burgess-ship, and the dynastic aspirations; our party cannot be accusable in untruthfulness to the interests of the laborer's class. Es always, in that occasion also, it has took the defense, the interests of the proletariat.

Because of shortness, the party beholds, that the success, exclusively are to its principal and consequente intervention, in the politic wars and at its refuse to unite with the parties of the burgess-ship.

Two years ago, the Ottoman Empire, became the theatre of events, much considerable for the Orient, in general, for our country. The role that the great capitalist's countries, in particularity Russia and Autriche, have played in those events manifestly showed, that the Balkan's nations are fringed of one big danger. Divided, as they continued to be, they were not good for Russia and Autriche. We, the social-democrats of Balkans, who had worse consequences of interior wars, of balcanic nationalities, we were the first, who saw that danger. We organised, in the measure of our forces, protestations in mass, and that party's action was the alone, opositive resistance, in our country, to that politic of government, which inspired exclusivment from dynastic interest and from the burgess-ship, puts itself to a full service of rossian-tzarism and of autrichen-imperialisme. At the same time, according with our friends Servians, was convoked at Belgrad, observed about the different Socialist's parties of Balkans, have to observe also, about the question of Balkans. The Conference, which was called on the 7 Avril, and on which went representants from all the Socialist parties, in Balkans, accomplished the war with success. In base, of the resolution, that was voted, they have shown time on 27 Mars, and on the 1 Socialist May to gather protestation's meetings, at the same time, in all the Balcanic countries. Those communal actions have helped much for the reservation among the Socialist's Balcanic parties and to light the laborers about the Balcanic problems. The next conference, which will have to base a bigger program for the actions of balcanic proletariat will become, the next year, at Sofia.

As we have said before, we are engaged in a strife, which takes, from day to day, more extension and will attain its highest point in the changing of the constitution question, which is the actual object of discussions in the governmental circles. We believe strongly, that the solution of that question will be in prejudice of the proletariat. They can before hand say, with sureness, that the changing in to the most actual dispositions, in the constitution, as: liberty of the press, of meetings, of coalitions and, perhaps to the universal right. At those intentions,

before all, the government does not remark. Being given the position of respective forces in our country: the actual supremacy of the monarchs; the short union between it and the capital's burgess-ship; the organic faintness of the democratic parties and the faintness of the laborer's class at that moment — there is great danger, that those liberties and rights of the proletariat will be taken from the monarcho-burgess coalition. We, who see well the democratic sentiments of the little burgess-ship — peasantry and civilisation, — the role of whom, in that moment will be decisive. As in the past, we do all dependant from us, to be loyal of our mission, to look after the interests of the proletariat. And we believe, that we will attain in the measure, by which we have to mobilize the proletariat's mass, seeing the danger, which frights us and awakes in us all the energy and combativeness. That is why, all our attentions, the whole our organisable force, at that moment are showing, in the augmentation of the combativeness of the proletarian, and before all, in the party's organisation. To make our organisation stronger, also to augment our socialist's work, about the education in the middle of the laborer's mass, — that is our immediate and future mission. And we can assure that being on good conditions, we shall fulfill that mission.

2. Syndical movement.

The syndical movement, in our country, — is recently. At the beginning it manifested itself by little laborer's groups, here-there; among them, there was a little number syndicated, who did not have possibility to do any actions in the strivings for the amelioration about the conditions of the work.

The first initiative for the fusion of these groups, was from several laborers, who were under the influence of the socialiste propagande, and their ideal, was to give education of the class to their adherents. That is why, those groups were cercles of instruction and these laborers studied the influence of the socialist party, these groups began to believe that through several actions, which they

could do, these will do a little amelioration for the conditions of the work. At the same time when these groups have augmented, has grown up the idea to base the bases of the future, professional unions. At year — 1904, all the groups made a big, central, syndical union. At year — 1904, they based the professional unions. We must remark, that through the education of the class, which was given by the socialist party, these new, professional unions put themselves on the earth of the war, among the classes, and have done very short adhesiveness with the socialist party, which importance was remarked in Stuttgart. So, between the syndical and political movement, in our country, there grew up mutual rapport's, equally good for the two branches and they have done an indissoluble entrenchment in the war of the proletarian class.

Composition of the Generale Union of Syndicates.

Years:	Sections:	Cotisant members:
1907	55	1689
1908	93	2084
1909	120	3424
1910*)	155	4600

These given numbers show, that during the four last years, the number of the affiliated sections to the General Union has triple and that of the adherents has quadruple.

Those laborers separate themselves:

Years:	For the industry:	For the profession:	For transport:	For agriculture:
1907	676	899	114	—
1908	970	897	215	—
1909	1884	1007	521	12
1910	2420	1205	960	15

After 1907 till to day, 13 professional unions with 172 local sections adhere to the General Unions of the Syndicates, namely:

*) For the three months.

Sections: Month

1. Union of laborers of Mines	8	300
2. " " " " Tabacco	7	500
3. " " " " the Metallurgy	14	350
4. " " " " Textile	5	250
5. " " " " Carpenters	14	300
6. " " " " Fur	28	590
7. " " " " Tailors	27	420
8. " " " " Book	8	200
9. " " " " Trains	17	360
10. " " " " Posts, Telegraph and Telephones	14	200
11. " " " " Ports	2	250
12. " " " " Commerce	6	120
13. " " " " Fabrics Laborers and others	24	610

At which degree these unions are based as organisations having for mission to look after the professional interests of laborers, they can see from their activity during these three years.

Here the numbers show the developpement of service of mutual helps of those unions:

Years:	For laborers in strikes:	For francs:	For sick laborers:	For francs:
1907	434	2,055.20	74	692.95
1908	694	3,139.15	122	949.39
1909	793	4,726.45	344	1,425.10
Insgesamt:	1,921	9,920.80	540	3,067.44

Here we shall see the number of the strikes during these years:

Years	Total number of Strikes	Strikes of defence	Strikes of attack	Number of Strikers	Lost days of work	Sums and helps	With success	Without success	With better success
1907	82	33	49	3,496	43,842	10,180.12	29	34	20
1908	75	36	39	7,914	39,845	4,804.65	15	39	21
1909	79	42	37	5,660	75,901	10,448.40	10	51	18
total:	236	111	125	17,070	159,588	25,433.17	54	124	59

The financial situation of the General Union of syndicates and of our professional unions is satisfiable and its organisations do all their possible to augment their maternal resources. For the force of the General Union, every professional union puts in menstrual in the central caspet of Syndical comity, one piaster for adherence.

During the last four years the receipts the central caspets are:

For 1906 —	francs	3,250.60
" 1907 —	"	3,339.30
" 1908 —	"	4,449.50
" 1909 —	"	5,360.80

Here is the general situation of the caspets of the professional unions for the years 1909:

Receipts . . .	Fr.	42,386.63
Civillists . . .	"	38,589.55

The caspets of the General Union of syndicats are for the same (1909) year:

Receipts . . .	Fr.	10,034.84
Civillists . . .	"	8,483.37

Parallel with the developement of the Syndical Union goes also the development of the syndical presse. We have to day the profesional organs:

1. *"Roudnitchar"* („The Miner“), organ of the union of miner's laborers, appears one time for a month, in 600 exemplars.
2. *"Metalorabotnik"* („Laborer of Metal“), organ of the union of laborers of metal, appears one time for a month, in 800 exempars.
3. *"Dervodelsky Rabotnik"* („Carpenter“), organ of the union of the laborers carpenters, appears one time for a month, in 800 exemplars.
4. *"Petchatarsky Rabotnik"* („Typographer“), organ of the union of tupographers, appears two times for a month, in 600 exemplars.
5. *"Shivachky Rabotnik"* („Tailors“), organ of the union of tailors, appears menstrual, in 1,000 exemplars.

6. *"Bulletin"* of the union of fabrics is menstrual, in 1,600 exemplars.

7. *"Textilen Rabotnik"* („Laborer of Textile-Goods“), organ of the union of the laborers of textile-goods, appears one time for a month, in 800 exemplars.

8. *"Tutunorabotnik"* („Laborer of Tabaco“), organ of the laborers of tabaco, is menstrual in 800 exemplars.

9. *"Kogearo-Oboushtar"* („Laborer of Furs“), organ of the union of laborers of furs, is menstual, in 1,000 exemplars.

10. *"Geleznitchar"* („Laborer on Train“), organ of syndicat of laborers on train, appears two times for a month, in 1,200 exemplars.

11. *"Telegrapho-Poshtensky Vestnik"* („News-Paper of the Agents of the Post“), appears two times for a month, in 1,200 exemplars.

In future we shall begin to appear with the organs of the Unions of Commerce and transport.

* * *

We have syndical and professional Unions, but yet there is another union, in which, there are adhering several laborer's unions, which are under the influence of the „Large Socialist“ party. We can not just say, how many adherers — members has those unions. Let us suppose, that the sended infotmations to the union of International Secretariat are just, but they are not the same with those, which the same comity published here. For example, the informations published from the International Secretariat haye been once 1,500 a second time for the same period 5,000 afterwards 2,500, 1900 and so on. Afterwards, they have said, that the members are 3,000. Their last congress, which was called one month ago, has said, that the number of all members is 2,000. That is, because of the misery, which reins in their local caspets, which are the same as the caspet of their General Union. We do not know anything, about their last informations shound by the International Secretariat, but we know well, that they are not real.

The manner by which they created those unions resemble as the great Russian villages. Those laborer's unions like „Large Socialist's“ party, under which influence they are, they will come to a full decomposition, that process is actual, because those laborers feed themselves with the illusion, that they will become proprietor's artisans. It is very easy to suppose the idea, which reins on those works, organisations of the little burgess — ship's politicians, who want by their influence to demoralize, how much they can. We can before hand say, that in future those groups will become gardens for striks. And now, their united thought is in war against the influence of the Syndical-Socialist's movement, which augments; that thought poods them; in all striks, dirigent from the General Union, there are many bad things, which gives us a good contingent to see the patronal solidarily with them. So, in the great strike of Textile — goods at Slivno, their chieives by concert with the fabricators, based an union with 20 persons, the first action of whom was replacing the strikers. During the great strike at Kostenetz and the laborers at Varna, had made just the same; during many others striks at little cities the same has continued. That all is, because of the corruption and bankruptcy, which the „Large Socialists“ based, and continue to base among the laborer's rangs, which are under the influence of the „Large Socialists“. And that, which is most sadly is, the role of the bad persons, which had become a system, good for the patrons. To which degree, those societies are degenerated, we can see from that, for, under the „Large Socialist's“ influence, they become instruments of the government for, the protection of the womanish and childish work.

That law looks after the actions of fabricators. In the composition of those comities entereall representatives from all the laborer's organisations. During the last elections, our professional unions had taken actual part and our candidates have the fortune to triumph, at the principal cities. The government refused to ratify a good number of elections, and against the law, it showed, as laborer's representatives the „Large Socialists“.

This scandal has revolted the laborer's organisations

and disguised the „Laborer's Friends“ and their „Syndicates“. We must well remember, that to and all these actions, is absolutely impossible, during the time, when the laborer's groups are under the influence of the „Large Socialists“, and till the „Large Socialists“, are profiting by chance, to be admired at the International Secretariat, they will continue to exploit that admission, and they will continue their perfidious work. Our General Union does not enter as their's, in the International Secretariat, but all our professional unions are united to the Professional International Unions.

The situation is very indecorous, indeed, but if it would be another, if the International Secretariat acted with more attention for the admissions with the different Unions in the Orient, and if it has taken one preservative information, about their character and force. We always believe, that this indecorous situation would not continue much more, and that our General Union and professional Unions will find there our adherers, who will preserve a party, from the laborer's class and they will gain it for the Socialist's Liberty. We strongly believe, that with the force of our unions and with intensive, socialist's deduction, at the same time, our persons will triumphe.

By that, we shall have possibility to do, from our syndical union an organisation, strong for the young, Bulgarian proletarian, who will know much about the Socialist's ideal, and good member of proletarian's International.

Sofia, 10.VI 1910.

For the Central Comity
of the Bulgarian Socialdemocrat Party,
Secretary-tresurer: **G. Kyrkoff.**

vote. For this reason our Party since 1906 is waging continual agitation through the press and at meetings for the universal suffrage and in 1908 a petition was put before the Skupshchina which demanded universal suffrage. Since 1908 our press has also made progress. The central organ of the Party and of the central federation of trades unions *Radnicke Novine* appears thrice a week with 5000 copies *Radnik* (in Kragujevac) appears once a week with 1200 copies and the *Tipografski Glasnik* once a month with 600 copies. Since the beginning of 1910 the Party publishes the paper *Borba* (Battle) which appears twice a month with 1200 copies

Besides these periodicals and daily papers, the Party publishes an edition of works, comprising translations of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, etc.; it also publishes an edition for agitation purposes. From time to time the Party brings out other socialist works.

Freedom of the Press rules comparatively in Servia. There is neither censor nor are there preventive measures. The strictest of the repressive measures are : confiscation for lèse-majesté and inciting the people to revolt. But in spite of this the social democratic press is often persecuted. Thus according to the report handed in by the Party committee at the last congress, the editorial staff of the *Radnicke Novine* alone has been sentenced to 6 years and 2 months imprisonment, and 5900 Dinar fines.

The education of the party members is provided for by the press and lectures and also by the party school. The courses last from October 1, to March 1. Lectures are principally give on theory and practice, of socialism, and natural sciences.

Since its formation the party has been affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau.

The trades union organisations had 5,350 members in 1906 but this figure went up to 5,434 in 1907, but dwindled down to 3,238 in 1908. This reduction is due to the protracted customs fight with Austria Hungary, also to the annexation crisis and finally to the great economic crisis, which brought

with it unemployment and material want for the labour class. In 1909 the number of members is again on the increase in the organisations for at the end of that year the membership numbers stood at 4,800.

The trades unions took part in the following strikes :

Year	Strikes	Workingmen on strike
1907	27	3,009
1908	18	1,538
1909	?	?

The intimate connection between the trades unions organisations and the Party have resulted in mutual action in all important political and economic questions. An organic bond unites the political and economic organisations and the influence they have on each other is very beneficial. We must also add that within the last three years the May holiday has been observed by complete cessation of work not only in Belgrad, but also in other towns. Special demonstrations are held for universal suffrage.

May 1910.

In the name of the Committee :

D. LAPPEVIC,
N. KOSANIN.